

Thank you to the 13th District of Illinois for allowing me to represent you for the last 10 years.

Thank you to my colleagues on both sides of the aisle who were willing to work together to make life better for our constituents.

Thank you to my hard-working staff over the years who have been in the trenches alongside me.

Thank you to the dedicated men and women who serve our legislative branch and keep our House operations running.

Thank you to our brave Capitol Police who saved my life on more than one occasion.

Thank you to my kids, Toryn, Griffin, and Clark, and my best friend in the world, my wife, Shannon, for going on this journey with me all these years.

While I will no longer be a Member of Congress come January, I will continue to be this institution's biggest advocate and know that the great work will continue because of all of you.

So as I leave, I would like to offer some advice to the incoming freshmen. My friend Lee Brice sings in one of his best songs "Love Like Crazy": "Don't outsmart your common sense."

I hope I remembered every time that I got in front of a microphone here or in a committee hearing that I had these words come to my head sung by one of the greatest rock bands ever, Nickelback: "These five words in my head, scream, are we having fun yet?"

So thank you, Congress. It has been an honor.

I yield back for the very last time.

#### AMERICAN ENERGY DOMINANCE

(Mr. JOYCE of Pennsylvania asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. JOYCE of Pennsylvania. Madam Speaker, last week, during a telephone townhall, a woman in my district asked what Congress was planning to do about the cost of her fuel bills. She could no longer afford to heat her home, and she has been forced to use a wood stove just to maintain a normal temperature in her home.

The temperature in my hometown in Altoona, Pennsylvania, tomorrow night will be 1 degree Fahrenheit.

For months, we have warned of constituents being unable to heat their homes when truly cold nights come this winter. And guess what, now they are here, and the Biden administration has still refused to act.

President Biden has refused to slash red tape and get pipelines and liquid natural gas facilities online that could address these soaring energy prices.

That is why we need to enact in Congress our Commitment to America and return not only to energy independence but to energy dominance.

We as Republicans will cut through government regulation. We will work to solve permitting reform, and we will finally bring the change that makes it

possible to utilize the energy sources that are under the feet of my constituents.

#### CONGRATULATING CONGRESSMAN JAMES LANGEVIN

(Mr. THOMPSON of Pennsylvania asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. THOMPSON of Pennsylvania. Madam Speaker, I rise today to thank, celebrate, and congratulate my dear friend and colleague, JIM LANGEVIN, who will be leaving us to enjoy his much-deserved retirement.

It has been an honor and privilege to work so closely with him for more than a decade, especially in our efforts to advance career and technical education for Americans of all ages.

We have made great strides to improve access and public awareness to the many benefits of career and technical education. By giving students the ability to explore career paths and build transferable skills, we are one step closer to developing a stronger, more skilled American workforce. I thank JIM for making such a difference in our work on that.

I send my very best wishes to JIM as he enters this next stage. I will miss our conversations, our dinners, and his presence around the Halls of Congress.

I thank JIM for his friendship and leadership over the years. He will be sincerely missed.

#### PAYING TRIBUTE TO CONGRESSMAN BOB GIBBS

(Mr. BALDERSON asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BALDERSON. Madam Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute to our colleague and my dear friend, the Representative from Ohio's Seventh Congressional District, Congressman BOB GIBBS.

Throughout his more than 20 years of public service in both the Ohio legislature and Congress, BOB has been a steady and strong advocate for his constituents and a trusted voice on agriculture and waterway issues.

While we will miss seeing him here on Capitol Hill, I know he is looking forward to many new adventures and time spent with his grandkids back on the farm.

To his bride, Jody, get that honey-do list updated. He is all yours now.

□ 0915

#### THE PSYCHOLOGY OF CONSENSUS

(Mr. HOYER asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. HOYER. Madam Speaker, as majority leader, there has been no benefit of this job that I have appreciated, very frankly, more than my magic 1 minute. I intend to take it now.

My friends on both sides of the aisle may be glad to know that this is the last time, perhaps, that I will be able to avail myself of that privilege. I intend to use this extended minute to reflect on what we have achieved together during recent years and on a principle that I am eager for us to continue to apply in the years ahead.

As Democratic Caucus vice chairman and chairman, as cochair of the Democratic Steering Committee, as Democratic whip, and as majority leader, I approach my work in leadership with one principle in mind: the psychology of consensus.

What is this psychology of consensus?

It means having a greater sense of our being in this work together than apart.

It means waking up and saying: I am on the team, the American team, privileged as citizens to serve in this body on behalf of all our fellow citizens.

It means setting out with the intention to make progress, not to block it; and it means focusing on what unites us as Americans. Democrats have put this ethos into practice to hold the party line when we needed every vote or nearly every vote. Our Members remind one another: Consider how you can be with us before deciding whether to have to vote the other way.

Let me share some examples of this success.

In 2008, President Bush asked us to take emergency action to prevent a financial catastrophe. He was joined by the Secretary of the Treasury and the Chairman of the Federal Reserve. Sadly, in our first effort, upon being asked by President Bush, less than one-third of the President's party was initially willing to take that action. We needed to ensure that we had enough Democratic votes to work with President Bush and the Senate to enact that legislation. And we did.

Not long after, in 2009, our economy was in free fall, the American people were struggling, and Congress was divided on how to respond. But despite that challenge, Democrats came together to pass the American Rescue and Recovery Act. That legislation set our economy on a path to recovery, saved and created millions of American jobs, and restored confidence in the American Dream.

The psychology of consensus also helped Democrats deliver a major victory for the people in 2010: the Affordable Care Act; for all Americans, irrespective of party, giving access to affordable, quality healthcare.

Although there were disagreements on the specifics of how best to reform our healthcare system to make it more accessible and affordable, we all recognized the urgent need to take action.

We worked together in good faith to secure the votes for that landmark law which made affordable health coverage attainable for 35 million more Americans, banned discriminatory practices, and dramatically slowed the growth of healthcare costs.

Interestingly, the model for that was a bill signed by MITT ROMNEY, then-Governor of Massachusetts, now a United States Senator representing Utah. Seven years later, consensus among Democrats also proved essential as we defended the Affordable Care Act against a President and congressional Republicans who were determined to repeal it.

The psychology of consensus benefits not only our Democratic Caucus, but I would suggest the entire Congress. We are seeking the psychology of consensus as we speak.

If we focus on what unites us as Americans who serve in the people's House, then surely, we can carry out better the people's work. Surely, we will not achieve consensus on every issue. If we search, however, for common ground before running to our respective corners, then compromise and progress become far more likely.

I learned this lesson early, not only as president of the Maryland State Senate but also working together with Democratic and Republican House colleagues to achieve bipartisan victories.

The Americans with Disabilities Act, one of the most consequential pieces of legislation in our lifetimes, shines for me as an example of that working together. In 1990, I joined with Tom Harkin, Bob Dole, Ted Kennedy, Steve Bartlett—a Republican who was the mayor of Dallas after he left here—and others as then-President George H.W. Bush signed that law into being.

As a result, those with disabilities must now receive reasonable accommodation, have greater access to opportunity, and are treated with greater dignity. All of us in this House can take credit for that on both sides of the aisle. We achieved that by asking ourselves how we could get to “yes” on legislation that would benefit literally millions and millions of Americans.

We did it again after the 2000 election revealed serious problems with our voting infrastructure. Colleagues from both parties, skilled legislators like Bob Ney, my dear friend; Chris Dodd; my good friend and still to this day one of my best friends, ROY BLUNT; and others sat down together. We ultimately secured the Help America Vote Act of 2002.

The psychology of consensus—coming together, working together, being together, and making it happen together—made it possible. It has also led many of us to cooperate to promote freedom and human rights around the world.

As a former cochair of the U.S. Helsinki Commission, I have been honored to meet with those who risk everything to promote freedom and democracy in our countries. Democrats and Republicans have worked together successfully to support them in that effort and to ensure that America remains a bright beacon to all those living in darkness. As Reagan pointed out, we are the shining city on the hill. The psychology of consensus is needed to keep that city and that beacon shining.

As part of that commitment to democracy and human rights, I have been proud to be a leader of the broad, bipartisan coalition supporting the U.S.-Israel relationship and Israel's pursuit of security and peace in that region. That effort exemplifies how to build and sustain consensus in this House. This bipartisan approach must continue, and I will keep working next Congress to ensure that both parties stand firmly with Israel.

Recently, the pivotal 117th Congress gave us example after example after example of how this philosophy helps cultivate bipartisanship. Both of our parties ought to pursue that. Frankly, we are seeing an example of that being elusive for our friends on the other side of the aisle as they try to elect a Speaker.

We came into office facing a cratering economy, a deadly pandemic, and grave threats to American democracy. Halfway through, we also had to respond to the most serious threat to global security since the Second World War: Vladimir Putin's criminal, unjustified, and unprovoked invasion of Ukraine.

The margin of our majority was slim, 222–213. Many predicted the math would make our efforts to govern unworkable. Two weeks after the election in 2020, the Republican leader told reporters: We might not be able to schedule the floor, but we are going to run the floor.

On our side, our psychology of consensus, however, made this one of the most productive Congresses in recent history and in which I have served.

Not only by striving for consensus among our caucus, which proved the naysayers wrong, but by reaching across the aisle to Republicans—to fellow Americans—when we needed their help to deliver results. Indeed, however, we ran the floor because of the psychology of consensus.

Coordinating with the Senate and the Biden administration, our House majority enacted major legislation even against unified Republican opposition. Our Members stuck together on very tough votes. The American Rescue Plan and the Inflation Reduction Act were the result. These laws arrested the economic free fall, deployed hundreds of millions of lifesaving vaccine doses, reopened businesses and schools, created a historic number of new jobs, and set us up to tackle the climate crisis head-on while enabling American workers and entrepreneurs to Make It In America.

Much of our success in the 117th Congress, however, resulted from bipartisanship. We encouraged Republican colleagues to ask themselves how they could get to “yes.” And enough did that we enacted a bipartisan infrastructure law, the CHIPS and Science Act, the Bipartisan Safer Communities Act, the Respect for Marriage Act, and other crucial legislation for our country.

We also resoundingly expressed Americans' support for the people of

Ukraine by providing critical military and humanitarian aid during their hour of danger, our hour of danger, and the world's hour of danger.

Last night we welcomed and cheered Ukraine's courageous President who guards the front door of freedom, international order, and a peaceful global community based on the rule of law. We must continue to support the Ukrainian people for however long it takes to ensure that they remain democratic, free, and sovereign.

John Kennedy—a great hero of mine and an inspiration for my entering politics—said at an inaugural address that goes down in history as one of the greatest: We will pay any price and bear any burden to defend freedom here and around the world.

That psychology of consensus made the 117th Congress a success. The same ethos ought to characterize the next Congress as well, and I will work towards that end with my Republican colleagues.

Our majority will soon come to an end—or, as I believe, a 2-year hiatus. The time has come, as President Kennedy said to my generation when we were ready to step up and serve, for the torch to be passed.

□ 0930

I will not be in the elected leadership of my party next Congress. I will, however, remain here, serving the country and this institution that I love.

I will keep urging bipartisanship wherever possible and work to unite Democrats in opposition whenever circumstances demand.

I offer Mr. JEFFRIES, Ms. CLARK, and Mr. AGUILAR my strongest support, the counsel of my experience, and whatever assistance they may seek.

I am excited for them to take the helm. I know they are ready to lead us back to the majority and help our Members deliver for the people.

My colleagues still will see me on the floor regularly as I speak—albeit more briefly, sadly—on behalf of the people I proudly represent in Maryland's Fifth District.

It is because of their support, their encouragement, and their allowance that I have been able to serve in the leadership since 1989 and serve in this body for over four decades. I am so thankful to them and look forward to continuing our work to make Maryland's communities safer, stronger, and more prosperous; to make America safer, stronger, and more prosperous; and to make our alliance with the rest of the world and freedom-loving peoples stronger, safer, and more prosperous.

We still have much more to do on projects that will benefit our districts and our State, and I look forward to returning to the Appropriations Committee as a senior member to advance those efforts.

My work in the House will continue with the same energy, enthusiasm, and dedication as I hope I have demonstrated over the last 42 years.

I also thank my Democrat colleagues who have supported me in leadership. I hope that I have kept the faith. I hope that I have done as they would have hoped.

I hope they believe I have represented our Congress, this institution, America, and, yes, my party as they would have expected.

I am proud to serve with the first woman to be Speaker of this House, the indefatigable NANCY D'ALESSANDRO PELOSI.

Our journey of service together began as interns more than five decades ago after we heeded President Kennedy's call. We sat together in a small office in the Russell Building, working for Maryland Senator Daniel Brewster.

We end two decades of partnership and leading the House Democrats, along with our good friend JIM CLYBURN, who I have known for 50 years.

I salute Speaker PELOSI and her trailblazing tenure.

We, my colleagues, have had the great privilege of serving with two historic Members of this House: John Lewis and NANCY PELOSI.

Throughout my years in House leadership, I have had the honor of employing those I believe are the finest, most capable, and most professional staff on Capitol Hill. NANCY said the same of her staff.

America—we, yes, but America—is blessed by the extraordinary patriots that serve as staff of this institution and of individual Members. They are extraordinarily able people, and they are great patriots.

Whether with me for two decades or just a few months, they have displayed unrivaled dedication, ability, and integrity. I thank each and every one of them. They have my gratitude and my deep affection.

If I sang the praises individually of each member of my team, my magic minute would turn into a magic day, so I won't do that. Suffice it to say any praise earned by me belongs equally to them.

A number of them were here in the Capitol on January 6, 2021, a day like December 7, 1941, that will live as a day of infamy in the history of this Nation.

They were housed in a small, insular office in my office, terrified by those without and in our hallways who called for the death of the Speaker and of the Vice President of the United States of America.

They are an extraordinary group of talented public servants. Notwithstanding that terror, they came back the next day to do America's work. I thank them for who they are and for what they have done.

Another group of individuals who I have come to know well and who have been at my side deserves recognition. The men and women of the U.S. Capitol Police who have served on my protective detail are among the finest law enforcement professionals in our country.

They are my friends. They are part of my family. I will love them always. I

have been privileged to get to know them and their families. They are dear, dear friends, and like so many, they are great patriots.

They are part of a department that has faced enormous strains over the past 2 years. We must never waver in our support for the U.S. Capitol Police officers, who every day protect all who work in and visit this Capitol complex.

They are the frontline defenders of our legislative branch. They are the frontline defenders of our great democracy. We owe them more than gratitude; we owe them support.

Most of all, I thank my family, my wife, Judy, who died much too soon; my daughters, Anne, Susan, and Stefany; my son-in-law, Loren; my grandchildren, Judy, James, and Alexa, along with Judy's husband, Chris Gray. They are the parents of my four great-grandchildren, Ava, Braedon, Brooklyn, and Savannah.

Your love and support have sustained me throughout these years.

I hope the lessons of my time in leadership and the victories we achieved together, Republicans and Democrats, Members of Congress, 435 people sent here by their neighbors and friends to represent them on issues directly affecting them, their families, and their country, I hope that those lessons achieved together under our Democratic majority will guide the House in meeting the challenges still ahead.

The psychology of consensus provides us with a blueprint for success. We in this House are, after all, all Americans whose common heritage should drive us to a common purpose.

In 2 weeks, there will be a new majority. It will be like ours, a very narrow one—indeed, the same margin we have had, 222–213. The challenge it poses to both our parties and to each of us and to the next Speaker and majority whip is all too familiar.

Democrats overcame it through the psychology of consensus. All of us, all 435 of us, ought to overcome it with that same kind of psychology: One Nation under God, indivisible.

Guided by a dynamic new leadership team of shared vision and experience, House Democrats will approach our brief time in the minority the same way, ready to continue standing up for our principles, for our ideals, and for America with a united front—hopefully, not just a partisan united front but a united front, indivisible.

Republicans would be wise, I think, to take the same approach and seek common ground with Democrats. Did we do it often enough? Maybe not. Did we do it successfully? Not always. But together, we must achieve consensus.

Democrats may not schedule the floor next year, but I hope that the successful approach we modeled will continue to run the floor.

Madam Speaker, as we close this 117th Congress, let us look ahead with determination and dedication to the cause that brought each of us to this Capitol: to serve our constituents, our

communities, and our country; to preserve and defend our Constitution and our democracy; to keep faith with those who protect our Nation and the allies who stand alongside us; to represent the American people, to effect their will, to reflect their generous spirit and deep sense of justice to the best of our ability—in short, to work together to create a more perfect Union.

With great reluctance, and even greater hesitation for this special privilege I am about to lose, though with great hope that, in the future, I will at least be able to talk, but for all your sakes, not as long, I yield back the balance of my time.

## PRESIDENTIAL TAX FILINGS AND AUDIT TRANSPARENCY ACT OF 2022

Mr. NEAL. Madam Speaker, pursuant to House Resolution 1529, I call up the bill (H.R. 9640) to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to provide for examination and disclosure with respect to Presidential income tax returns, and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mrs. LURIA). Pursuant to House Resolution 1529, the bill is considered read.

The text of the bill is as follows:

H.R. 9640

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

### SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the “Presidential Tax Filings and Audit Transparency Act of 2022”.

### SEC. 2. EXAMINATION AND DISCLOSURE WITH RESPECT TO PRESIDENTIAL INCOME TAX RETURNS.

(a) AUDIT.—Subchapter A of chapter 78 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 is amended by redesignating section 7613 as section 7614 and by inserting after section 7612 the following new section:

#### “SEC. 7613. EXAMINATION WITH RESPECT TO PRESIDENTIAL INCOME TAX RETURNS.

“(a) IN GENERAL.—As rapidly as practicable after the filing of any Presidential income tax return, the Secretary shall conduct an examination to ascertain the correctness of such return and enforce the requirements of this title with respect to the taxable year covered by such return.

“(b) REPORTS.—

“(1) INITIAL REPORT.—Not later than 90 days after the filing of a Presidential income tax return, the Secretary shall disclose and make publicly available an initial report regarding the examination with respect to such return. Such report shall include—

“(A) the name of the taxpayer,

“(B) an identification of the subparagraph of subsection (c)(1) which describes such return,

“(C) the date that such return was filed, and

“(D) the date on which the examination with respect to such return commenced (or, if such examination has not commenced as of the date of such report, a detailed description of the reasons that such examination has not commenced).

“(2) PERIODIC REPORTS.—Not later than 180 days after the disclosure of the report described in paragraph (1) with respect to any